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## The Invisible Government

One of the first things that President-elect John F. Kennedy did in 1960 was to announce that Allen Dulles of the Central Intelligence Agency and J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation would keep their jobs.

"This was part of the strategy of reassurance," Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. wrote in "A Thousand Days," his memoir of the Kennedy years. "Hoover and Dulles were still ikons in 1960. Since the political cost of discharging them would have been considerable, reappointment enabled Kennedy to get full credit with their admirers for something he had no real choice but to do anyway."

Of course, that was before the Bay of Pigs, before the Cuban missile crisis, before Vietnam, before Watergate, before everything that happened in the Sixties and Seventies. In the fall of 1960 the agents of the CIA still were "good guys" and it was very nearly un-American to criticize J. Edgar Hoover. In 1976 nearly the opposite is true.

In the context of events now and then, there will be great interest in President-elect Jimmy Carter's choice of a successor to George Bush, the CIA director who'll be leaving January 20, the day Mr. Carter is inaugurated.

Mr. Bush's resignation is not surprising, since he is the first overtly po-

litical appointee to the post. The job previously was held by professionals: General Walter Bedell Smith, Dulles, John McCone, Richard Helms, James Schlesinger, Richard Colby.

The CIA director was expected to keep a low profile, as befitting the nation's No. 1 spy. But Mr. Bush was recalled as chief of the American liaison office in Peking to become CIA director at a time when the agency was being criticized in Congress and its abuses revealed almost daily in the press. President Ford's appointment of Mr. Bush — who had previously served in Congress, as Republican National Chairman, and as Ambassador to the United Nations — was meant to be reassuring, signaling that the bad old days were over.

In his new study, "The American Police State," David Wise writes, "The consensus in Washington was that Ford replaced Colby because the White House believed he had been too cooperative with the House and Senate committees investigating the CIA. In fact, given the revelations of domestic spying and foreign assassination plots, and the crunching pressures on the CIA, Colby had done a clever public relations job of defending the Agency. With his ice-blue eyes, and tightly contained manner — he seldom showed anger in public — Colby sat for hours, days, and weeks, testifying, answering

the questions of Congressional committees, and making speeches around the country."

The abuses of the CIA and FBI are a matter of public record today. Mr. Carter hardly needs to be cautioned on the subject. He may want to keep Clarence Kelley, the professional policeman who was brought in to clean up the mess J. Edgar Hoover and Pat Gray had left at the FBI. The man he picks to boss the CIA ought to be equally nonpolitical.

"In a democracy," Mr. Wise warns, "official amorality and lawbreaking take place in secret. The intelligence abuses have been able to flourish because of a pervasive system of official secrecy that has permitted the lawbreakers to conceal their illegal acts by stamping them 'Top Secret.' The government's classification system, which has existed for civilian agencies only since 1951, has thus provided a vital cocoon of secrecy to mask the illegalities from the public, the press, and the Congress. What has surfaced has been disclosed in spite of this system, partly through the accident of Watergate. How much is still going on today we do not know."

Jimmy Carter was elected President on the promise of restoring trust to government. Nowhere will the promise be put to a more stringent test than the invisible government, so-called.